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war neurosis. It is still true that all power is inherent in the people; that free governments are founded on their authority only, and that such governments are instituted for the good and safety of the people. It is still true that for the advancement of these high ends the people have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they think proper, so long as they go about the business soberly and lawfully, operating through the will of the majority. It is still possible for such majority to make its will operative. If it be treason for the minority to seek its ends by bombs and murder, it is no less treasonable for the majority to repress the men expressing the views of the minority. Since a revolution by persuasion and argument under law is possible at any time, a revolution by violence is a crime at all times. Our aspirations for democracy do not blind us to these facts. Free speech, limited only by law necessary for the protection from crimes of violence, is, we are still aware, possible, necessary—indeed the natural result of democracy. A decent respect for the opinions of mankind can operate as a principle only where free speech is felt to be allowed and to be believed in. If our Department of Justice has gone too far in the suppression of this right, the resentment is healthy, increasing, and destined to re-establish that right. If sedition is found among radicals, it is found among the reactionaries as well. The people will give it its deserts in either case. If it be possible and sometimes desirable to sit on the lid, we are quite well aware that it is always dangerous business to sit on the safety-valve. In our saner moments we know that the best way to treat the soapbox orator is not to take his soap-box from him, but to offer him an extra soap-box. Whatever the form our democracy is to assume, we shall continue to abide by the principle that the people are competent to decide their form of government. As a writer in a current magazine phrases it:

"I have said that I have faith in our political institutions. I have faith in our people as well. 'It is not uninteresting to the world,' said Thomas Jefferson, 'that an experiment should be fairly and fully made whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth.' We find ourselves in the midst of this experiment, and I for one am willing to debate the apostles of Bolshevism, not only because tolerance entitles both sides to a hearing, but because I believe I have a better case than they have and because I have confidence in the court and jury."

#### Evidence is at Hand

The consciousness of a common sorrow and of a common burden—economical, political, spiritual—will yet beget a renaissance of brotherhood, because a renaissance of brotherhood, of mutuality, of co-operation, is the only way to any wealth, power, freedom of spirit, victory over time and space, worth while. Coal, paper, tyrannies, armaments—these may be concrete problems facing democracy; but such problems are solved only where men believe in the principles at the foundation of democracy within the State.

And men do believe still in the principles at the foundations of democracy. This was shown during the war by the idealisms which led us to the sacrifice. It

was shown by the gifts to the United War Work Campaign, \$100,000,000 to the Y. M. C. A., \$15,000,000 to the Y. W. C. A., \$15,000,000 to the War Camp Communitiy Service, and the other millions to the National Catholic War Council, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, and the American Library Association. The Red Cross is itself an expression of democracy at its best. The gifts for the relief of suffering among those of our associated peoples in the war, especially among the suffering in the lands of our former enemies, is democracy. The great tasks in behalf of city administration; of better housing; of community health, including the prevention and cure of disease; of industrial control; of children's welfare; the organization of charities for the homeless and the aged; of the many community agencies, citizen's associations and the like, are evidences that the aspirations of democracy are not dead. Prison reform, especially since the magnificent work of Z. R. Brockway during the '80's and '90's; our compulsory school attendance laws, bringing all our children together for a period of eight years; our magnificent public high schools and State universities are all evidences of our abiding democratic ideal of a personal opportunity for each in a progressive society organized for the benefit of all. As Carlyle says in his *Sartor Resartus*:

"He who first shortened the labor of copyists by device of *movable types* was disbanding hired armies and cashiering most kings and senates and creating a whole new democratic world; he had invented the art of printing."

If the end thus seen by Carlyle be not yet reached, the leaven of the printed page is keeping alive the thing our fathers aimed in 1787 to perpetuate, and which the aspirations of democracy everywhere have struggled for, are struggling for, and will continue to struggle for until the social purpose shall be more and more clearly attained; until wars shall threaten us less frequently; and until men are free to turn their energies, as did Socrates of old, to those abiding satisfactions at the heart of a rational and workable democracy within the State.

## THE PRESIDENT, THE CONGRESS, AND THE TREATY

### The McCumber Resolution—The Revised Peace Resolution Adopted

The text of the resolution introduced by Senator McCumber April 14, which he moved as a substitute for the House resolution (cf. pp. 135-36, ADVOCATE OF PEACE, April), was as follows.

Whereas actual hostilities between the warring nations in the late war ceased on the 11th day of November, 1918, under and by virtue of the terms of an armistice of said date; and

Whereas the German Government has acknowledged its defeat, and has by treaty yielded to every demand imposed by its enemies in said war, including the disbanding of its armies; and

Whereas commercial relations have been resumed between the said German Government and other governments associated with the United States in said war: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved, etc.* That commercial relations between the United States and Germany be, and the same are hereby,

resumed to the same extent and under the same limitations as though no war had existed between the said governments, and all laws prohibiting trade and commerce between the nationals of said governments, enacted since the 6th day of April, 1917, are hereby repealed in so far as they are in conflict with this resolution.

#### THE KNOX RESOLUTION

The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, on April 30th, by a vote of 9 to 6, reported out a resolution drafted by Senator Knox, which departed in some important respects from the resolution carried in the House, the revision being due in part to a clearer understanding of the law governing the case and also to meet criticisms of the plan as originally devised.

Its text follows:

Joint resolution repealing the joint resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the joint resolution of December 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the joint resolution of Congress passed April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end;

#### German Property

*Provided, however*, That all property of the Imperial German Government or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of the Government of the United States or of any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States and no disposition thereof made, except as shall specifically be hereafter provided by Congress, until such time as the German Government has, by treaty with the United States, ratification whereof is to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made suitable provisions for the satisfaction of all claims against the German Government of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, whether such persons have suffered through the acts of the German Government or its agents since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their person or property, directly or indirectly, through the ownership of shares of stock in German, American, or other corporations, or otherwise, and until the German Government has given further undertakings and made provisions by treaty, to be ratified by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for granting to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States most-favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce, and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nationals, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding. To these ends, and for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany, the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany.

#### The Definitive Date

SECTION 2. That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress,

joint resolutions, or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

#### No Rights Are Waived

SECTION 3. That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages to which it and its nationals have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof, or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit as one of the principal allied and associated powers and to which it is entitled.

#### Austria Is Included

SECTION 4. That the joint resolution of Congress approved December 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end, and the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the successor or successors of said government for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and the governments and peoples of Austria and Hungary.

Following the report of this proposed resolution to the Senate with the understanding that it would supersede prior plans for action, there was considerable debate of its merits in the press, and also semi-official statements by leaders of the Democratic Party as to the policy that Democratic Senators would pursue when the resolution came up for debate. Early in May it was announced that prolonged debate and anything like filibustering would not be attempted; that enactment would come promptly, and would be followed by a presidential veto, the message possibly being accompanied by a return of the treaty to the Senate by the President with comments by him on the present situation of the world.

On May 13 the Senate, without division or debate, adopted an amendment striking out the clause requesting the President "immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany."

On May 5 debate on this resolution opened, Senator Knox leading. In the course of his prolonged, carefully prepared, and deliberately read indictment of the League Covenant the former Secretary of State described what the Paris peacemakers, in his opinion, should have done. He said:

"The Parisian peacemakers should have confined their activities to making peace, and then, as soon as world conditions permitted participation therein by all peoples, initiated an international conference to formulate for submission to the nations of the world, with a view to adoption by them, an arrangement providing for the codification of international law, the establishment of a court of international justice, and the outlawry of war. This arrangement to be as complete, comprehensive, and compelling as shall be consistent with human rights and human liberty, with the progress of civilization, with the preservation and fostering of free institutions, and with the inherent right of every people to be secure, to enjoy peace, and to work out unhampered its own destiny, subject only to like equal rights of all other peoples.

"It remains open to us, so long as we are unbound by the proposed discredited covenant, to initiate such an agreement among the nations."

Summing up the legal aspects of his resolution, he said that it recognized and affirmed that

"First. War is actual hostilities.

"Second. That it was so understood by our constitutional fathers.

"Third. That the power to declare war was exclusively with Congress, which created the status of war by a law which, like any other law, could be amended, modified, or repealed.

"Fourth. That the purpose of the war powers of the Constitution was to give the National Government the legal power and practical ability to conduct a successful war—that is, actual hostilities.

"Fifth. That war powers could not be exercised after actual hostilities had ceased.

"Sixth. That the powers of the President came from two sources, that of the Chief Executive and that of Commander-in-Chief; that the powers of neither capacity could be invoked to augment the other; that he possessed no extraordinary powers as Chief Executive save only and to the extent such powers were conferred by statute which, to authorize action by him, must be duly and legally in operation."

#### PRESIDENT WILSON DEFINES HIS POLICY

May 9 the text of a correspondence between President Wilson and an Oregon Democrat was given to the public. The latter asked the President whether he considered it important for the Democratic Party in the primary, May 21, to nominate candidates pledged to ratify the Versailles Treaty without the Lodge reservations. The President replied as follows:

"I think it imperative that the party should at once proclaim itself the uncompromised champion of the nation's honor and the advocate of everything that the United States can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles Treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established, and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome.

"It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political, and international reforms and is not daunted by any difficulties it has to contend with.

#### Support Due Late Allies

"Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war. They gave their treasure, their best blood, and everything that they valued in order not merely to beat Germany, but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the Treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

"The League of Nations is the hope of the world. I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the Covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

#### Mustn't Whittle Treaty

"The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. If we are to exercise the kind of leadership to which the founders of the Republic looked forward and which they depended upon their successors to establish, we must do this thing with courage and unalterable determination. They expected the United States to be always the leader in the defense of liberty and ordered peace throughout the world, and we are unworthy to call ourselves their successors unless we fulfill the great purpose they entertained and proclaimed.

"The true Americanism, the only true Americanism, is that which puts America at the front of free nations and redeems the great promises which we made the world when we entered the war, which was fought not for the advantage of any single nation or group of nations, but for the salvation of all. It is in this way we shall redeem the sacred blood that was shed and make America the force she should be in the counsels of mankind. She cannot afford to sink into the place that nations have usually occupied and become merely one of those who scramble and look about for selfish advantage.

"The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity to which it must measure up. The honor of the nation is in its hands."

#### COMMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Mr. William J. Bryan, as reported in the Associated Press, said: "Broken down in health by the weight of cares and anxieties such as have fallen to no other occupant of that high office, the Chief Executive has been denied the information essential to sound judgment and safe leadership."

Mr. Bryan stated that it was impossible for Mr. Wilson to advise wisely without full knowledge of the situation, which, in his opinion, the Chief Executive did not possess.

He said the Democratic Party had stood by the President and fought for ratification without reservations as long as there was any hope of securing ratification without reservations—an effort in which he heartily joined—but the effort failed. "Whether the Senate acted wisely or unwisely in the adoption of reservations, it acted upon a constitutional authority as complete as the authority which the same Constitution confers upon the President," said Mr. Bryan.

"The issue now is whether the Democratic Party believes in the fundamental principles of democracy, namely, the right of the majority to rule," said Mr. Bryan, who also stated the President asks the Democratic Party to make a campaign on the theory that the presumption of wisdom is with twenty Democratic Senators, plus the President, instead of with the majority of the Senate, or even the majority of the Democrats of the Senate.

Mr. Bryan urges an immediate ratification of the treaty with reservations already agreed upon, leaving the nation to secure afterwards in the League such changes as may be deemed necessary. In closing he stated the Democratic Party cannot die; it must help solve the problems of the day. "Democratic friends of the League of Nations," he said, "should join Republican friends of the League, and by so doing take the issue out of the campaign and speak peace to war-distracted Europe."

Senator Johnson, of California, a Republican presidential candidate showing much strength in the primaries as favoring rejection of the treaty *in toto*, said:

"I have consistently opposed the present League of Nations in its original form and with the reservations appended. The League presented to us was either a good or a bad thing. If it was as good as the President and his

associates insisted, it required neither amendment nor reservations. If it was as bad as we insisted, neither amendment nor reservation could make it good. The President has consistently maintained his position, and I can respect an adversary of that sort.

"Those for whom I have no respect in this contest are the men who were with the President when they thought his position was popular, during the discussion last year, and who then demanded the immediate passage of the League without reservations or amendments, and who now, with the varying popular wind, embrace the so-called Lodge reservations, which they denounced for so long a time."

Senator Borah, of Idaho, also an opponent of the treaty with or without reservations, said:

"They must adopt the League as the head of their party advocated and indorsed it or they must repudiate what amounts to the entire administration. While I utterly disagree with the President as to his views, I frankly express my admiration of his consistent, courageous course. It is exhilarating these days to see a man with courage enough to advocate his convictions regardless of the political consequences. The only thing to do with this League is to make the issue simple and direct—League or no League—and let the American people pass on it."

Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, Mr. Wilson's champion in the Senate, remarked:

"Unqualified ratification of the treaty became impossible months ago. The President has never been against compromise or reservations. He has been against destructive reservations such as Senator Lodge's. In my opinion, the treaty plank in the Democratic platform will be just about as the President wrote it in his telegram. It will advocate the League."

#### REPUBLICAN PARTY DISSENSION

It having been announced on May 11 that the Republican National Committee, at its meeting in Chicago, had decided that the platform of the convention would include a plank favoring ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations, Senator Borah made the following statement:

"I hardly think the party will go on record in favor of ratifying a treaty six months hence which is already under condemnation in Europe, and which will be more and more condemned as its disastrous economic effects are felt. I venture the opinion that the party will not follow the course indicated by the press reports published today."

"In all probability there will not be a nation in Europe standing by this treaty by the time the next President is inaugurated. The Republican Party might take very serious chances whether it would furnish the next President if it entered upon such a course. If the party managers think that the people, who have been enjoying the belief that the treaty and League are things of the past, are going to receive this news with enthusiasm, in my judgment they are greatly mistaken."

He will lead a fight within the convention against ratification of the treaty with or without any reservations, and in so doing have the support of Senator Johnson.

#### PRESIDENT'S ADMIRERS ASK HIM TO RELENT

On May 10 the text of a letter sent to President Wilson by twenty-eight admirers and supporters was published. Cardinal Gibbons, former president of Harvard, Eliot; Ray Stannard Baker, Ellery Sedgwick, of the *Atlantic Monthly*; William Allen White, and others of like prominence, in this letter said:

"You have performed your duty of honor in endeavoring to obtain the ratification of the treaty as you signed it at

Paris. The responsibility for the reservations and their defects rests with their authors, and not with the author of the covenant.

"But even with the reservations, the covenant, with the moral force of the United States under your leadership behind it, is of such value to humanity at this moment that we look to you to carry it now into effect and to lead the world's opinion in its operation."

#### IT IS REPORTED

**T**HAT the boys and girls in Berlin are "starving for fellowship as well as for food."

That the average salary for teachers in New Zealand is \$400 a year more than in the United States.

That Serbia has decided to reopen diplomatic relations with Germany.

That the Portuguese Senate having ratified the Treaty of Versailles, the ratifications are now complete.

That war profiteers in Czecho-Slovakia are to be taxed.

That because of the scarcity of paper Italian newspapers are to be restricted to two pages.

That a new bill is to be introduced in France to reduce the duration of military service to eighteen months.

That it has been officially proclaimed in Athens that war between Greece and Germany ceased on March 30.

That at Villers Guislain, France, two buried shells were exploded by a farm tractor and twelve persons killed.

That two large English companies—one a mining, the other a steamship company—have decided to open trade relations with Soviet Russia.

That 3,500 truck loads of sugar were supplied by Czecho-Slovakia to Austria between October, 1910, and March, 1920.

That the Friends' Unit of the American Red Cross is financing the erection of a model maternity hospital at Chalons, France, to cost 1,000,000 f.

That 30,000 Russian refugees from the "Red Terror" have now arrived in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

That in execution of the armistice terms Germany has handed over to France 2,683 locomotives, 697 of which have been ceded by France to other Allied Powers.

That in India there are 278,000 illiterates, or 891 to the thousand, while in the United States there are only sixty-five to the thousand.